

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 178907 TOSEC 080136

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: CSCE REVISION - PORTUGUESE BILATERAL PAPER

FOR HARTMAN (STATE) AND CLIFT (NSC)

1. FOLLOWING ARE REVISED PORTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE
BILATERAL PAPER. PLEASE INSERT INTO BRIEFING BOOKS
AS APPROPRIATE.

2. CHECKLIST.

PARTICIPANTS US PARTICIPANTS PORTUGAL

--THE PRESIDENT	PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES
--THE SECRETARY	PHONETIC: COS-TAH GO-MESH
--ASSISTANT SEC. HARTMAN	ADDRESSED: MR. PRESIDENT
--	FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES
--	PHONETIC: MAY-LOW AHN-TUNE-ESH
--	ADDRESSED: MR. FOREIGN MIN.
--	AMB. FORTUNATO ALMEIDA
--	PHONETIC: AHL-MAY-DAH

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-- ADDRESSED: MR. AMBASSADOR

-- LT. COL. FERREIRA DA CUNHA
-- CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDEN
-- PHONETIC: FEH-RAY-RAH-DAH-COON
-- YAH
-- ADDRESSED: COLONEL

NO FURTHER CHANGES IN CHECKLIST

3. SETTING.

YOUR ONLY PREVIOUS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES WAS IN WASHINGTON IN OCTOBER 1974, JUST A FEW WEEKS AFTER HE ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY FROM GENERAL SPINOLA. MUCH HAS CHANGED IN PORTUGAL SINCE THAT TIME, BUT COSTA GOMES' UNCOMPROMISING OPPORTUNISM HAS ENABLED HIM TO SURVIVE UNSCATHED THE FREQUENT AND SPASMODIC MOVES LEFTWARD BY THE GOVERNMENT WHICH HE NOMINALLY HEADS.

LISBON NOW STANDS AT THE THRESHOLD OF MILITARY MARXISM. THE RECENTLY-ANNOUNCED POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM) WILL -- IF IMPLEMENTED -- TRANSFORM THE GOVERNMENT INTO AN AUTHORITARIAN REGIME INSPIRED BY THE CUBAN MODEL. THE PLAN CALLS FOR THE ERADICATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE CIRCUMVENTION OF THE CIVILIAN POLITICAL PARTIES THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "POPULAR ASSEMBLIES" AT THE MUNICIPAL, DISTRICT, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS. THESE ASSEMBLIES ARE MEANT TO ESTABLISH WORKER/SOLDIER ALLIANCES AND WILL INCLUDE THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION OF AFM OFFICERS, AS WELL AS WORKERS, FARMERS, ETC.

THE LATEST (JULY 25) CONVULSIONS IN PORTUGUESE POLITICS ESTABLISHED A MILITARY TRIUMVIRATE COMPOSED OF PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES, PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES, (COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER) AND INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF, GENERAL OTELO DE CARVALHO (OPPORTUNIST, FRIEND OF RADICAL MARXISTS). THE ENORMITY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IT CONFRONTS, THE HEIGHTENED POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE IF THE IGNORED POLITICAL PARTIES CONTINUE TO PRESS THEIR CAUSE IN THE STREETS, AND THE MUTUAL ANTAGONISMS WHICH EXIST BETWEEN GONCALVES

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AND CARVALHO MAKE THE TRIUMVIRATE INHERENTLY UNSTABLE.

COSTA GOMES' PRINCIPAL INTERESTS WILL PROBABLY BE TO "SUGAR COAT" THE MEANING OF BOTH THE AFM ACTION PLAN AND THE MOST RECENT EVENTS IN LISBON, TO REITERATE PORTUGAL'S DESIRE TO RETAIN ITS NATO MEMBERSHIP AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE US, AND TO APPEAL FOR FURTHER US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND POLITICAL UNDERSTANDING. ALTHOUGH

HE ALWAYS ACTS OUT OF SELF-INTEREST, COSTA GOMES SPEAKS THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICAL MODERATION. ONLY HOURS BEFORE THE LEFTIST GOVERNING TRIUMVIRATE WAS ANNOUNCED LAST WEEK, COSTA GOMES TOLD THE AFM ASSEMBLY (HARDLY A RECEPTIVE AUDIENCE) THAT THE REVOLUTION HAS LOST TOUCH WITH

THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE, THAT PORTUGAL IS AND MUST REMAIN WESTERN IN ITS POLICIES AND OUTLOOK, AND THAT THE AFM ITSELF NO LONGER ENJOYS WIDESPREAD POPULAR SUPPORT.

OUR OBJECTIVES ARE TO MAKE CLEAR TO COSTA GOMES THAT WE ARE MORE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAN EVER ABOUT EVENTS IN PORTUGAL, AND THAT WE BELIEVE THE AFM HAS ABANDONED ITS ORIGINAL PRINCIPLES AND IS HEADING IN A DIRECTION WE CANNOT ENDORSE. WE MAY BE ABLE TO TURN COSTA GOMES' OPPORTUNISM TO OUR FAVOR BY EMPHASIZING THE POPULAR STRENGTH OF THE PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PARTIES, HINTING AT THE INSTITUTIONAL WEAKENESSES OF THE ARMED FORCES (DISCIPLINE IS INCREDIBLY POOR, POLITICAL FACTIONALISM IS RIFE, DISSATISFACTION WITH GONCALVES' PERFORMANCE IS WIDESPREAD) INDICATING US SUPPORT IF PORTUGAL DECIDES TO FOLLOW THE PATH OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY.

ITEM 1 REMAINS UNCHANGED

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--THE JULY 19 COMMUNIQUE OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT AND THE MORE RECENT NAMING OF A MILITARY TRIUMVIRATE SEEM TO PLACE PORTUGAL SQUARELY ON THE ROAD TO AN AUTHORITARIAN MARXIST GOVERNMENT.

--ALTHOUGH WE SUPPORTED PORTUGAL'S DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS
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AND THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM OF THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE EARLY OBJECTIVES OF RESTORING DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES HAVE BEEN ABANDONED.

-- IF THE WORD DEMOCRACY HAS ANY MEANING AT ALL, IT DENOTES A SYSTEM IN WHICH THE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR WILL THROUGH POLITICAL PARTIES OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING. CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL'S TWO LARGEST PARTIES (THE SOCIALISTS AND POPULAR DEMOCRATS), MUST THEREFORE CAUSE THE GRAVEST CONCERN ON THE PART OF ALL THOSE WHO GENUINELY CARE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN PORTUGAL.

--WE BELIEVE PORTUGAL IS IN GRAVE DANGER OF LOSING ITS MOORINGS AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF A DEMOCRATICALLY--ORIENTED

WESTERN EUROPE.

-- WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO HELP THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE
(WE SIGNED AGREEMENTS COVERING A \$20 MILLION GUARANTY
AND A \$13.2;MILLION LOAN FOR HOUSING ON JUNE 30) BUT

CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
DEPENDS UPON THE EVOLUTION OF A NON-COMMUNIST, DEMOCRATIC
GOVERNMENT IN LISBON.

--DETENTE IS A HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT WHICH RELIEVES SOME
EAST-WEST TENSIONS, BUT DETENTE IS ONLY POSSIBLE THROUGH
THE STRENGTH AND COHESION NATO PROVIDES.

ANGOLA

THE MID-JUNE MEETING IN KENYA OF ANGOLA'S THREE LIBERATION
GROUPS BROUGHT A TEMPORARY LULL IN THE BATTLE, BUT HEAVY
FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TWO PRINCIPAL GROUPS RESUMED ON
JULY 10. BY JULY 14, IT APPEARED THAT THE MARXIST-
ORIENTED MPLA HAD GAINED VIRTUAL CONTROL OF THE CAPITAL CITY
LUANDA. DURING THE WEEK OF JULY 21, THE FNLA COUNTER-
ATTACKED AND TOOK A KEY ROAD JUNCTION (CAXITO) SOME
35 MILES NORHT OF LUANDA. A THREATENED FNLA MARCH ON THE
CAPITAL HAS NOT YET MATERIALIZED BUT IT CAUSED THE BRITISH
TO EVACUATE THEIR CONSULATE STAFF AND OTHER SUBJECTS
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AND LED MOST OF THE FOREIGN NATIONALS TO SEEK TO LEAVE
LUANDA. OUR CONSULATE GENERAL REMAINS FULLY OPERATIVE,
AND IS ASSISTING NON-ESSENTIAL AMERICANS TO LEAVE. WE
ARE PREPARED TO SEND IN AN EVACUATION AIRCRAFT WHENEVER
OUR CONSUL GENERAL DEEMS IT NECESSARY.

IN RESPONSE TO THIS CHANGED SITUATION, THE PORTUGUESE
APPEAR TO HAVE STIFFENED THEIR BACKBONE A BIT. PORTU-
GUESE UNITS RESPONDED FIRMLY TO A RECENT MPLA ATTACK ON
SOME OF THEIR SOLDIERS, BUT HOW THEY PLAN TO DEAL WITH
THE FIGHTING BETWEEN RIVAL AFRICAN GROUPS REMAINS TO BE
SEEN. THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS THAT PORTUGAL MAY
IN FACT, BE PLANNING TO REMOVE ALL OF ITS 24,000 TROOPS
FROM ANGOLA BY INDEPENDENCE DAY (NOVEMBER 11), RATHER
THAN BY FEBRUARY 26, 1976 AS AGREED TO LAST JANUARY.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--WE HOPE THAT PORTUGAL WILL BE ABLE TO BRING ABOUT
A LASTING PEACE IN ANGOLA PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE.

--ANY PREMATURE WITHDRAWAL OF A PORTUGUESE PRESENCE WOULD

LIKELY CONTRIBUTE TO INSTABILITY, NOT ONLY IN ANGOLA
BUT ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA AS WELL

--DOES PORTUGAL INTEND MAKING APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE
TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, E.G. OAU, UN, ETC. INGERSOLL

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